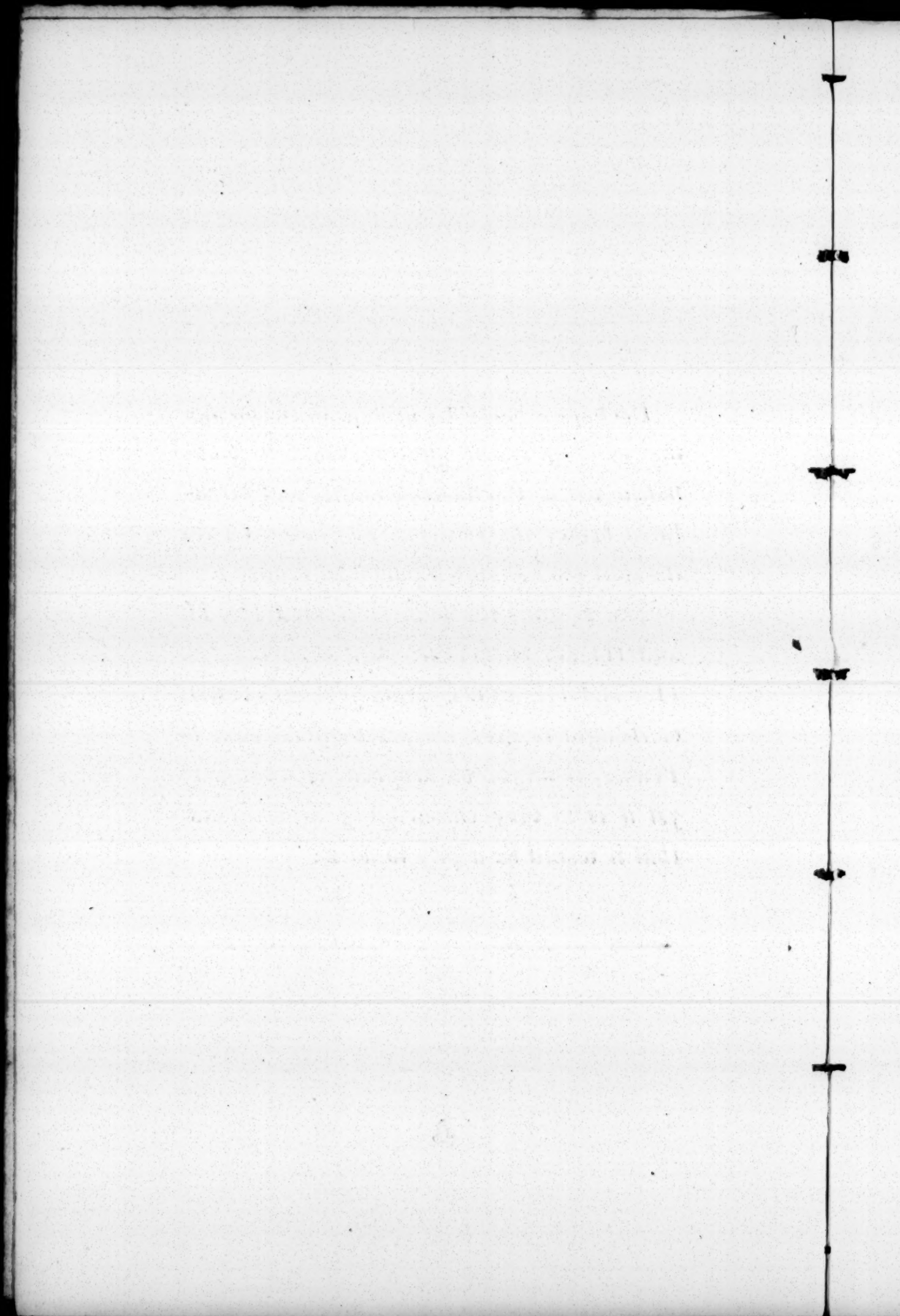

Perhaps a pamphlet giving an encouraging view of public affairs should be published when Parliament meets, and circulated before the General Election. I have the most part of such a pamphlet ready.

No. I. gives the plan of it, and No. II. and III. are parts of it. If that part of No. II. which relates to Captain Schanks's vessel, be thought to give too much information to France, it might be dropped, or changed; yet it is so very encouraging to England, that it would be a pity to do so.



(No. I.)

CONSIDERATION

ON THE

STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

IN SEPTEMBER, 1795.

THE general intention of the following reflections and prospects is to shew,

First, that France, even amidst all her conquests and victories, has lost, and probably never can recover, that superiority in the balance of power on the Continent, which before the war she possessed.

Secondly, that England is compelled by necessity, by which I mean the preservation of her existence, to continue the war.

Thirdly, that she contends at present for the greatest prize that ever was fought

for on earth, the empire of the whole ocean.

Fourthly, that if the connection between causes and effects have their common consequences, the issue of the war will be, not only to save the British nations from their dangers, but to win for them that empire.

Lastly, that by combinations and dependencies of interests they may preserve it.

And from the whole to draw a conclusion, which I pray to God, both Administration and Opposition would attend to.

If in explaining my ideas, (some of which may appear new) I take a larger range of views, than may at first sight seem immediately connected with their objects, my excuse is, that, to be just to my subject, I cannot do the one, without the other.

(No. II.)

CHAP. IV.

If the Chain of Causes and Effects have their common Consequences, the Issue of this present War will be, not only to save the British Nations from their Dangers, but to obtain for them the Empire of the Sea.

VOLTAIRE says, that what is probable to happen does not always happen : and the late irregular course of events in France would create a suspicion, that the science of politics has no principles which can be trusted to. But notwithstanding the good sense of that saying, and the madness of that nation, the experience of all nations proves, that there is a chain of causes and effects, as absolute in the political as in the natural or moral world ; by which men may command present events, and predict future ones. — There was more

piety than impiety in the saying of the Duke of Luxemburgh, " *Le bon Dieu est toujours sur la côte des plus gros escadrons.*"—God is always on the side of the strongest squadrons ; because it is more consonant to his wise government of the universe to act by general laws than by particular interpositions.

Now there are three causes, which portend that the issue of the present war will be, not only to save the British nations from their present dangers, but to obtain for them the empire of the sea. These are the state of the navy ; the state of the nation contrasted with that of France ; and the late connection with Russia.

STATE OF THE NAVY.

The last war was, properly speaking, a sea one ; because, though there were armies on the continent of America, they were supported by fleets ; and fleets were employed in the East Indian, West

Indian, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, the German Seas, and the Channel. They fought America, France, and Spain; and when thought to be in the last agony of distress, defied and trampled upon Holland. It is singular, that the English when they fought on land in America were almost always unfortunate; but when they got upon their own element, and under Captain ~~Schomberg~~ on Lake Champlain and the river of Quebec, they were, even though soldiers and not seamen, always victorious. Now those circumstances gave an unparalleled range of experience and knowledge to officers. While I was at Lisbon for a family distress during the late war, eleven English ships of war came there at different times, and there was not one of the captains who was not well informed and well bred. When I say that Captain Payne was of the number, need I add the degree to

Pring

which these qualities were carried in one man ?

An English sea officer at present, is perhaps one of the most singular characters that has appeared in history, because the qualities of all great nations are united in him. He has the politeness of a gentleman, the science of a scholar, the ingenuity of a mechanic, the laboriousness of a husbandman, the honour of a Spaniard, the steadiness of a Spartan, not only in battle, but in far more trying situations, amid tempests, thunder, raging billows, and what is far worse than all the four, amid the silent solitary passive miseries of slow disease. He has the *esprit de corps*, which detaches a man from himself, and makes him part of a great system of the courage of others. Captain Cochrane, who lately with two frigates defeated five great ships of war, took two of them, and made a third strike, well de-

served the diamond sword which the merchants gave him, had it been for nothing but an expression in his dispatch, which no Briton can read without feeling his heart glow ; — “ My crew,” said he, “ appeared to be one man, animated by “ one soul.” Courage and tenderness of mind go continually together, and therefore the completing feature in an English sea officer’s character is, the tenderness of a woman to those he has conquered, exposing his own life to save the lives of those who had just been attempting to take away his. Add to this character of the officers, that of the seamen, who have the four first qualities that seamen can possess, contempt of money, of pain, and of death, and that cheerfulness, and even merriment, in labour or peril, which makes both seem rather a matter of sport than of anxiety to them.

The fleet of England has at this time another and a singular advantage : it is the

production of preparation for three impending wars: First with Spain, next with Russia; and lastly with France. The consequence has been, that while the French were pulling down the thrones of their living princes, and the monuments of their dead ones, even the statue of their immortal Henry, the altars of their God, the guardianship of those parliaments which had so often defended and suffered for their rights, and those nobles who, or whose ancestors, had so often bled for them; by destroying all nations, were forcing all nations to destroy them; and were destroying each other by massacres, trials, assassinations, imprisonment, suicide, and in the battles of civil war; and were neglecting their trade and navy; I say, while they were so employed England has soberly and steadily been building navies, manning them with complete seamen, filling her magazines with provisions, and her arsenals with stores, de-

stroying the trade and navy of the French, seizing their colonies, and annihilating even their connection with all their distant possessions.

But the best instruments without good hands to direct them, are weak. The present Admiralty Board, instead of being a nursery for inexperienced, or an asylum for decayed politicians, as it has too often been, is filled with the vigour of youth, and the wisdom of age. One of the commissioners was secretary to the Board above thirty years, by which he came to know the character of every officer ; another was long comptroller of the navy, by which he came to know the power and condition of every ship ; and both by their situations came to know the weak and the strong parts of Britain, and of the friends and enemies of Britain, in all matters connected with naval defence or offence. The present head of the Admiralty, with one of the greatest

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estates in the nation, labours more, and sleeps less, than a common mechanic. With the highest blood in his veins, he sees with pleasure the meanest man who can give him instruction; and by the ready access which he gives to officers, and the open manner with which he receives them, so like to their own, he converts the popularity of an individual into an ardent and powerful engine of war for the public.

But that Board keeps steady in its eye what in my estimation is a far more material object, viz. the preservation of the healths and lives of seamen, and even the study of their conveniences, so as to make the life of a seaman as comfortable, and perhaps more comfortable, than that of a landman. The consequence in future ages may be, that the British, like the ancient Athenians, may be indifferent whether they sleep in a cottage or in the hold of a ship, in a palace or in a cabin.

With this view the Admiralty Board have divided the Board of Sick and Lane Seamen into two departments; one of which is to apply itself to the medical part alone, and particularly to form and enforce rules for the food, liquor, clothing, exercise, air, sleeping, and for preventing and curing the diseases of seamen, according to the different services, or climates in which they act.—They found out, and appointed the first geographer in the world, (when I say so, the public will anticipate the name of Alexander Dalrymple) to collect, and put in order all the charts which exist in public offices, to add to the collection by purchases, and complete it by what is far more valuable, the draughts of his own hand; because they know that more men perish by shipwrecks upon coasts, than on the ocean—and they protected, encouraged, promoted, and, which he regards far more, gave their confidence to Captain Schanks,

for his invention of sliding keels, which by enabling vessels to land on the shallowest shores, converts all the shores of the world into a harbour, and will every year save to Britain the tears of many thousands of orphans, widows, and parents.

It was my good fortune (the happiest of my life) to suggest modes by which seamen may be supplied with fresh water, beer (beer even made from water become putrid in the cask), bread, and other nutritious farinaceous foods, salt, and spirits made on ship board in every climate, and every day of the year; by which great stowage will be saved, fleets enabled to keep long at sea, instead of running into ports under pretence that they want necessaries, and the lives of seamen in all climates be saved, which at present are lost from want of fresh water, beer, and bread, and which in tropical climates are lost, as Doctor Blane wisely and humanely

laments, even by two separate causes, the fatigues of the seamen, and damp situations, on the watering service. I never had occasion but once, and then by accident, to wait five minutes for an audience of Lord Spencer. I never asked any thing that was reasonable for my views, without its being complied with. Even my impatience he overlooked, in consideration of its motive. He and the other Lords at the Board saw and examined my contrivances with their own eyes. I sent to Lord Spencer a very ingenious man, who had improved upon mine: he received three notes in three days, and on the last was sent to the proper Board, to do justice to his discoveries. From my personal knowledge of the powers of stills, I was certain that by alterations upon the present ship still, which is exceedingly defective in power, because it is defective in room and size, the whole navy might be supplied with

fresh water from salt water, either made in every ship, or in attending ones for a fleet, with a very little addition to the present expence of fuel. And if there be any bad taste in such water, except what arises from the circumstances of the present ship still, and want of cleanliness in the person who works it, that bad taste can be removed by the person whom Lord Spencer sent to the Navy Board. But there is a man of rank and genius, I mean Brigadier General Bentham, who I have reason to believe can obtain, even with a saving of fuel, a sufficiency of fresh water, and, as he thinks, of fresh water which will need no rectification, by varying the principle on which stills commonly work. After I mentioned this fact to Lord Spencer, I understand that the principle is to be put, or is now putting, to the test.

In other nations the navy protects the

merchant. But in a late instance in England (a spectacle before unseen by nations) the merchant defended the navy. A private gentleman, the Honourable John Cochrane, but of a family distinguished for valour and talents, suggested to Ministers and the East India Directors, that the East India ships, which are of great size and power, should be armed like ships of war, and taken into the service of Government. What was the consequence? A new fleet instantly started up to assist the old one: merchants became monarchs; and freight ships a royal navy.

But the exertions of British merchants do not stop at the power of defence: they lead to the power of offence in their country's cause. Above seventy strong ships are employed in the southern fisheries; they sail along the coasts of Peru, and Chili, to Cape Horn. All these are sheathed with copper, built and finished in the most masterly manner; because they

require perfection to guard against the dangers to which they may be exposed. And they are manned by the very best seamen in the whole world, because the variety of dangers, adventures, and professional occupation, of climates and weather, of food and beverage, fit them for any voyage or expedition; and they therefore learn more in one voyage there, the duration of which is commonly three years, than in a dozen voyages any where else: the best proof of which is, that when they are hired on the transport service, their honour proves their misfortune, in the continual orders which they receive to go upon service, in preference to others. These seamen, from being so much on the coasts of the South Seas, come, either in the hurry of occupation, or in the intervals of idleness, to know the coasts better than those who inhabit them. Two important discoveries they have made, one, that the dangers of the passages by Cape Horn

are mere romances; for above seventy ships pass every year with ease, where Lord Anson could with difficulty pass with one. The other known only to a few, who think for the public, when it is not known that they are doing so; to wit, that there are stations of which the public is ignorant, off the coasts of the South Sea, which will lay those coasts prostrate at the feet of England, whenever she shall take advantage of them. Besides these advantages of discovery, the experience of those voyages has shewn, and the attention which the Boards of Admiralty, Victualling, Sick and Wounded, and Navy, are all paying in one glorious common cause, to the health and convenience of seamen, will show that their lives will be as safe in attacks upon the coasts of the South Seas, as upon the coasts of France. And it is known to all, that the river Plate is as healthy as the river Tagus, which is in the same latitude with it.

The consequences of those circumstances are, that on a breach with Spain, one half, perhaps the whole, of *such* ships, with *such* seamen, and *such* local knowledge, suspending for a season the employments of fishermen, would arm themselves with the implements of war, lay the coast of the South Seas under contribution, from the northernmost point of Mexico to the southernmost point of Chili, force the Spaniards to lay an embargo upon their trade there, take every ship that attempted to come home by Cape Horn, and lock up equally the trade of the subjects, and the treasure of the King. And thus the adventure of the merchant has proved a mighty engine of war to the state. And yet this engine has arisen into potency silently, and so imperceptibly, that the account which I am now giving of its importance, is perhaps the first that has met the public eye. Lord Hawkesbury worked slow, unseen, but sure to his end.

Virgil places the inventors of new arts in the Elysian fields.

Quique novas vitam coluere per artes.

The Egyptians and Greeks raised them to be gods. But there is no difference between the inventors of arts, and the benefactors to mankind, who nobly make use of them. I have often thought that in the present reign, in which both have been carried to so high a degree, an order should be created, called *the Order of Public Good*, to wear a medal, which on one side should bear the above line of Virgil, and on the other, an allusion to the particular article of merit of the person who wears it: for example, on the medal of Sir Joseph Banks might be inscribed *the friend of Cooke, or transplantation of plants and roots*; which he likes best; for both do him equal honour; on that of Lord Hawkesbury, *the Southern fisheries*; on that of Lord Spencer, *health of seamen*; and perhaps on his Majesty's, as

sovereign of the order, *voyages of discoveries* ; because under his patronage more discoveries have been made, than by all the kings of England since the Conquest put together.

Even in the uttermost distress of the English navy, it would find resources of defence from persons who do not even belong to it. Mr. Millar, who invented the carronade gun, on the merits of which naval officers differed during the last war, and thereby drew a line between men of genius and dunces, but have unanimously agreed in the present war, still lives—he, of whom I once said in public, and repeat it again, that I know not his equal in the island, in point of invention, sagacity to regulate it, industry, and spirit, still lives, to defend his country by his inventions (as important as that of his carronades) of arms for sea fights, which will decide their fates ; but which his humanity prevents his bringing forth,

until a fatal necessity shall make it his duty to do so.

In the cause of the navy, the naval genius of Britain starts up in every quarter. Mr. Clark, brother to Sir James Clark of Pennicuik, a family in which ingenuity is hereditary, published a tract on Naval Tactics, and boldly published it, because he knew that the greatest improvements on the subject, and on that of ship-building, had been made by landmen, and even by Germans who had never seen the sea, but who trusted to the principles of mathematics and mechanics; to which a seaman dares not trust, because he has spent all his life in the trammels of custom, and because all the slumberers of the navy will say that he is a visionary madman, if he does quit them. Mr. Clark's principle was, that the best mode of attack (a thing never before dreamt of) by an English admiral and English seamen, both of whom have always spirit,

was, to break through the line of the enemy. On this principle Lord Rodney gained his immortal victory on the coast of Spain, and Lord Howe his late as immortal, but in its consequences more important victory on the coast of France. Admirals great in themselves, but perhaps still greater, if what is reported be true, that they owned that their victories were due to the adoption of a principle suggested by another.

But the genius of British individuals wards off dangers of every kind occasioned by a war. When the metropolis was lately threatened with a famine, occasioned, as was unjustly said, by the superabundance of grain consumed by our armies and navies, Government, acting upon the principle of a saying often in the mouth of the late Charles Townshend, that "the best talent which he knew was to make use of the talents of other men," drew Mr. Claude Scott from the retirement of his own pri-

vate, but useful and great business. What was the consequence? At the hazard of his life, from fatigue of body and of spirit, an individual found food in the resources of his own mind, to save a million of people from the misery and anarchy, which a dearth of grain always brings upon nations.

I have made mention of Captain Schanks in a cursory way. But as I consider the inventions which are combined in the form of his vessels to be one of the circumstances in the train of causes and effects which may have effect on the fate of the war, I shall do, what his modesty prevents him from doing, that is, describe the form, the qualities of his vessels, and the various services in which they may be useful: and I shall endeavour to do it in terms which persons who are not seamen may understand. If I do not use sea terms, I beg that seamen will excuse me. They

little know how much trouble it has cost me to make their language intelligible to others.

DESCRIPTION OF PARTS.

In this vessel the following particulars are combined. First, the bottom consists of a long and flat floor. Secondly, three sliding keels are inserted into a strong keel, which runs nearly on a line with the bottom of the vessel, and in the fore, the hind or middle part, which three keels are raised or depressed at pleasure. Thirdly, she is divided into different parts by partitions of wood, commonly called bulkheads. And, lastly, oars may be added when they are needed. The expence of the crooked timbers is saved, because the vessel is not round, and may be built of fir.

In consequence of these circumstances the vessel has the following qualities.

QUALITIES.

She sails far swifter than any other vessel of the same size, so as to overtake every thing that is weak, and run away from every thing that is strong, for two reasons : the first is, that the length and flatness of her floor covering much surface of water, sinks very little in it, skims on the surface like a duck, and therefore receives small resistance from the water. The second reason is, that as the vessel keeps steady in her course when the three keels are down, so when the fore keel is drawn up, and the other two kept down, she will in an instant tack one way ; or when the hindmost keel is drawn up, and the two others kept down, she will in an instant tack the other.

She sails nearer the wind than any other vessel can do, on account of the suddenness of her tacking, and of her sliding keels acting the part of lee boards.

By means of her oars she can go

against the wind, and proceed and retire in a calm.

From her flatness, she has more stowage than other vessels, to give the more room for provisions and stores, to fight the ship, and for the men to sleep in.

She can land on the shallowest shores, by drawing up her keels, and her skimming on the surface of the water, so as to save from shipwreck, and to form almost all the coasts of the world into one harbour: and from the same circumstance she makes landings on the coasts of an enemy easy.

A ship is disabled when the rudder is lost. But the keels prevent the loss from being felt, because they act the part of a rudder, and even in most cases might supply its place.—The fact is proved by what was exhibited before his Majesty at Weymouth by Captain Schanks.

The vessel can hardly be sunk by a leak, or a shot; because, by being divided

into separate parts by partitions, one, two, or three parts may be filled with water, while the rest of the ship is dry. The same circumstances will save from the drowning of provisions or stores ; because these being divided among all the divisions, the loss in one part can be supplied from another.

She can hardly be burnt, because the helps of water to extinguish fire are instantly found in the three wells of the keels, and in the number of cocks which may be put into them, and can be communicated by means of the pipes, called ship's hose, through every part of the ship. In these operations the men are not exposed to the shot of the enemy, to which they are exposed when they draw water in buckets, from the outsides of the ships, to extinguish the fire within.

But should the vessel take fire, the powder magazine could instantly be drowned from the wells ; and then other

vessels would approach to assist her, without the fear of being blown up.

The ease of filling the water casks, and washing the decks by means of the wells and of more than one cock to each well, will strike every seaman, who remembers the inconveniences which he has endured in those parts of the service.

The flatness of the vessel at the bottom and the sides, enables her to carry a superior weight of metal in ball or bombs.

The small draught of water, enables her to make a close attack upon places, such for example as Havre, which have hitherto been thought safe from attack by the shallow water which protects them. Lieutenant Mallbone, in the Trial cutter keel vessel, gave protection to Newport in five feet water, when a squadron looking on, which drew from 14 to 24, could give none. In the same manner keel vessels could run over bars, such as are at Cronstadt, Lisbon, and Charlestown, the pas-

sages of the Nile, the shallow ports of the Levant, the shallow coasts of the Red Sea, the river Plate, and all the great rivers of Africa and America; and the whole range of the South Sea coast; or over rocks which protect harbours, such as the rocks of the Goulet in the entrance to Brest harbour. I mention this alone, without enumerating others, in order to fix the British eye upon it.

The flatness of her bottom enables her to act the part of a battery, even when the tide has left her, because she will settle on the ground with safety, and sit upright, when another vessel by the sharpness of her bottom would fall over on her side. In the Spanish war before last, Capt. Clements attacked three Spanish zebecks, lying at St. Mary's, in the bay of Cadiz, and each day was obliged to retire with the tide. But had his vessel been able to take ground with safety, he could have destroyed them the first day.

By means of the keels and oars, the vessels might enter the strongest harbours; even Brest; in the dark or during a fog; and destroy the shipping; or even act the part of fire-ships, by being filled with common combustibles, without the foppery of regular fire-ships, which are difficult to be prepared in numbers, and by their preparation give warning to the enemy.

The vessel can be made so small in weight, that according to a model of a boat in the Admiralty, one of them, which is forty feet long, and carries about thirty men, will not weigh above three tons. In consequence of which, they could be either carried in pieces or entire, over narrow Isthmuses; for example, at Cadiz, from the sea near the Pillars of Hercules to the Carraccas, or from the Bay of D'Ouvernez to the harbour of Brest, as easily as Captain Schanks transported vessels of the same

size ten or twelve miles over land, on the confines of Lake Champlaine.

That boat of 40 feet long, and manned by about 30 hands, each of whom has a musket, half pike, cutlass, and two pistols, to defend against boarding, carries one gun of a 32 pound ball, which turning on a pivot, fires either before or behind. This boat is without a deck : but it might have a deck, and be armed in the common way with small guns ; and vessels might be built of different sizes, according to the service that is needed : but a number of the smallest of the vessels which I have described, could take by torment a great ship ; which would find itself equalled with metal as heavy as its own ; and could not defend itself if attacked in the stern, and other parts where it could not point its guns, or in a calm, where it could not change its position. If the small vessel was near, the shot from the great vessel would fly over it. If it was distant,

the shot of the great vessel would not hit, because fired not horizontally, and against an object small in size, made smaller by the small front which it presents in firing only from the poop or the stern, and because the waves and its own swiftness are continually shifting its positions.

The combination of keels and oars of these vessels would be singularly useful in the Mediterranean, which is subject to calms; in the Baltic, which suffers both from calms and shallows; in all inland seas, which commonly suffer from both; and indeed in all seas which are subject to either. It is plain from a late dispatch of Admiral Hotham, that a sudden calm in the Mediterranean snatched victory from his hands.

I have heard that Lord Spencer sees the use of Capt. Schanks's instrument of war in the light it deserves: and it is with pleasure I can inform the public that his Lordship has ordered one of them to be built, of 400

tons burthen, and carrying 18 long nine-pounders, in order to know by gradual experience, whether vessels on a greater, and still greater scale may be built on the principles of that one.

SERVICES.

The services on which these vessels may be employed, are first, the protection of the coasting trade, which during war must have convoys ; secondly, in the protection of the coasts which are without forts ; thirdly, to annoy the enemy's harbours and rivers in places thought hitherto safe from attack ; fourthly, to protect the West India islands from ravages, which, on account of their number, and many other circumstances, are incapable of other defence ; fifthly, to put the East India shipping on a footing of equality with the shipping in the Indian seas, which by their small draught of water can go where ours cannot ; and, lastly, on voyages of

discovery, in which the glory of science and of their patron, his present Majesty, are interested.

THE COASTING TRADE.

I begin with this object, because the protection of it will remove the complaints of the people, who always feel sufferings which are near at hand, more than those which are at a distance.—The people of Edinburgh were more provoked in the late war, with the sight of Paul Jones's single ship lying three weeks in the Frith of Forth, than with the surrender of General Burgoyne's whole army.

All the harbours on the east coast of Britain, between Cromarty and London, are shallow : on which account, convoy ships of war cannot enter them. These are therefore obliged to lie off, on the coast. But if an east wind blows, they are either driven off the coast, or forced to make for a station, such as Leith Roads

or Yarmouth Roads : and until they recover their original position, a whole convoy, or whole convoys, may be stopt. There are instances of 400 colliers coming to London at a time. The consequence is, that the supply to London being irregular, the price of coals is irregular : one of the greatest misfortunes which can befall a great metropolis. If Lord Spencer applies the remedy, which I understand he is thinking of, every householder in London would henceforth drink his health every cold evening.

The remedy is to build, and for the sake of expedition in the different dockyards of the kingdom, a number of small vessels from 100 to 200 tons burthen, with keels, oars, and heavy metal, which could enter harbours, sail with a convoy, even though small, as soon as it is ready, take up other small convoys in passing ; for example, in sailing from Newcastle to Yarmouth Roads, take up the shipping

from Whitby, Hull, and other places, and then return to Newcastle for more. A few such vessels joining, and they could join, because they would be continually in motion, would be a match for the strongest French or Dutch frigate: the number required would perhaps be 20, which, at £3,000. a piece, would not cost in building more than two frigates; and at 50 men upon an average to each, would require only 100 hands more than three frigates. But they would save danger, insurance, delay, and many other inconveniences to the merchants, manufacturers, and the customers of both; while in the mean time the strong ships of war which are commonly employed in the service of the coasting trade, would be far better employed in making the enemy as sick of war as they are at present of peace.

PROTECTION AGAINST INVASION.

These vessels beyond all others give protection against invasion. By the ease with which they change their positions, their swiftness, their going high on the wind, or against the wind, and their taking ground with safety upon shallows, they can give intelligence, retire, pursue, attack, defend every where. Such a resource added to the navy and to the dangers of the sea, aided by the army, the militia, and present internal defence, and still more, if aided by light horse, which England has in perfection beyond any nation in the universe, and by light artillery, which Dumourier taught the French to call and to use as *artillerie volante*, and which would convert every hedge, park, wall, or wood, into an ambuscade, or a post, and the villages into redoubts, could defy, not only France, but all Europe, attempting to invade the British Islands.

TO ANNOY THE ENEMY'S COASTS.

The Normans kept France in alarms for two centuries, by sending boats up one river, carrying them by land across to another, and descending that other, and ravaging every where. The mode of war was inhuman ; but landings made by flat bottoms, keels, and oars, resemble it so far in the common laws of war, that the harbours and mouths of rivers might be made useless, and many forts destroyed, which have hitherto been thought safe from attack. Let any one look at the common French pilot-book, and the roundings of the coasts and rivers there, and he will see the truth of what I say. If the mouth of the Thames was locked up by France, London would force Government to send a herald to Paris to sue for peace. If England was to lock up the mouth of the Seine ; and still more, if the shipping of England (which it could do) was to land fourscore thousand Russians

to make a winter campaign in a country warmer than their own is in summer; I mean from Havre to Rouen; although they proceeded no farther; the same necessity of a herald from Paris to London would speedily appear.

I need not repeat what all know, the facility with which the dykes of Holland might be destroyed by means of those vessels. Nothing but the humanity, I think the false humanity, of England suspends the blow.

PROTECTION OF THE WEST INDIES.

This is the only protection of which in the present state of the war the West Indies are capable.

The nature of the trade wind makes an enemy's ship to the windward safe against a ship of the common form. And the calms which are there, temporary in point of time, partial in point of space, and continual on the leeward side of every

island, make both our attacks and our retreats uncertain in their operations and their issues, not only from the effects of all calms, but on account of the excuse which they afford to the cowardice of officers, that their want of advance was owing to their want of wind. Admiral Benbow, with his leg shot off, lying on a couch on deck, was obliged to fire into two of his own ships, to take from them those excuses, to which Captain Schanks's long and flat floors, keels, and oars, if adopted, will for ever put an end. Such vessels running every where, and continuing long no where, would protect the islands equally from the ravages of enemies, and the assistance of men, vessels, stores, and provisions, brought to those enemies by neutral ships. Hitherto fleets of large ships have from necessity been sent to the West Indies, because there was reason to believe that the French would encounter them there with large

ships. But that danger being over by the downfall of the French navy, the Admiralty of England will see, and I believe does see, that the system of offence and defence falls now to be changed in the West Indies, with the change of circumstances.

EAST INDIES.

The coasts of the East Indies are in general shallow. The whole coast of China is so. The river of Calcutta is so extremely so, and so uncertain in its depths, from banks of sand and mud shifting their positions, that great ships both of the King and the Company have been lost in the sight of the people on the banks. Vessels with sliding keels and oars would pervade and be an universal blessing to every part of Bengal; and through all the Indian seas give the English shipping the advantage which the native shipping has over it, of drawing little water.

Was I not confined in this paper to considerations which relate to the war, I would add, that no vessels were ever thought of, so well fitted for voyages of discovery, which, if the seas between India and Britain were the dominion of England, might aggrandize her empire to a degree beyond human foresight; because these vessels contain all the advantages which the immortal Captain Cook called for, but called in vain.

(No. III.)

CHAP. V.

*The Continuance of the War by England a
Matter of Necessity for Self-preserva-
tion.*

NECESSITY forced England into the war. The trick of holding out fraternity to all nations, that is to say, the privilege of revolting from their own country, and making themselves part of another. The fancy of throwing open all rivers to all men ; the madness mixed with genius of Dumourier's march to Holland ; and the declaration of war on the very day when that general was to have treated with the English ambassador for peace ; left no alternative to England : instead of scattering war into France, as Lewis the Thirteenth did into Scotland, and from thence into England ; as Lewis the Fourteenth

did into the three British kingdoms ; as Lewis the Fifteenth did into Germany, and into Britain ; and as his successor did into America ; I say, instead of such conduct, Britain observed, but in vain, a neutrality, so guarded as not even to be mixed with the artifices, dexterous but dangerous, of Queen Elizabeth. But the lie of the day (for I believe the treaty of Pilnitz is now understood by all to have been but a lie) in the circulation of the treaty of Pilnitz, which was said to contain a partition of France, made the French people as mad as their rulers. The same necessity for continuing the war now subsists, but far stronger, because the danger is increased by the defection of allies, and because (as I shall show in another chapter) the prospects of success are increased.

The necessity arises, 1st, from the present state of France ; and 2dly, from the

present state of Holland and Spain ; it is therefore proper to contemplate all the three.

State of France.—The French having almost lost their trade and manufacture, are now like the ancient Spartans, who subdued Greece, and held the empire of Persia at defiance ; a nation of husbandmen and warriors. The Spartans were in number 5,000 men, with 30,000 servants, all fit to be soldiers. The French are six millions and a half of men, all fit to be soldiers. I fix upon this number, because of the remainder of twenty-six millions which is, or at least before these disturbances, was, according to Mons. Necker's account, the number of their people : three-fourths, as in all nations, are women or children, or men between 16 and 60 years of age. Such numbers could without doubt make a conquest of the Continent, if three powers had not arisen there, which when all joined, or even partially

joined, are superior in strength to them. The French, however, are so well defended by the ocean, the Pyrennees, the Alps, the Rhine, their own fortresses, and their own internal defence, that it is impossible for almost all Europe joined to force them, as the present war has too fully proved. In this situation, with six millions and a half of warriors within, and complete safety from without, *it is as clear as the sun* that Britain, defended with no fortifications, and London within three days march of the sea, and perhaps not one, as the success of the Dutch at Chatham proved, if they be not masters of the sea, must fall a victim to France, as Holland, and I had almost said, Spain has done.

State of Holland.—Holland is become a province of France.

State of Spain.—Spain is as dependent upon France as Scotland is upon England. This matter deserves to be explained, and

I shall do it, because I can. Spain is separated from France, but not France from Spain. The road from France to Spain over the Pyrennees, is one of the noblest, and I may say the easiest, in Europe, twisting so imperceptibly in ascent round the mountains, that I passed it with my family in an English coach as easily as I could have gone to Hampstead. It is terminated and commanded within a few miles of Spain by the strong fortress justly named Bellgarde, because it gives a vast range of prospect into the rich province of Catalonia, to animate the cupidity of French eyes, just as the view of Italy from the Alps animated the soldiers of Hannibal. The province of Catalonia below is defended by two fortified towns, Figuera first, and Barcelona next. But Figuera is commanded by a height, which has not even a redoubt; and accordingly, when the French took it lately, they did not fire against the walls, but down upon the

people in the streets. Barcelona is commanded also by a height, on which there is a fortress indeed, but so weak, that Lord Peterborough took it in two days, (if I remember right) and then the town instantly surrendered. From thence to Malaga little opposition can be made; for Carthagená, as I am told, (for I never went through that part of Spain) is not strong to the land, and Allicant is commanded by a height. From Malaga the route is short through the mountains to the river Guadalquivir, and from thence the descent easy by land and water to the Carraccas of Cadiz, which are not even fortified, though all the naval power and most of the treasures of the King and of the trade of Spain be centered there. Cadiz itself, like the Carraccas, must fall without a blow, because it receives no food but from the Continent, being built at the end of a narrow promontory which runs into the sea, and even no water,

there not being a single spring in the town, and the water for it brought from St. Mary's, on the opposite side of the bay, and six miles off. But when Cadiz falls, the naval power of Spain can find no refuge, except in the port of Ferrol, the bottom of which is foul, full of worms, and therefore destructive to ships. The whole of the march which I have described, except among the mountains of Malaga, is along one of the finest countries in the world, equal to Lombardy or Flanders, abundant in provisions and wealth ; whereas most of the other parts of Spain are little better than a desert, which gives food to sheep and hawks alone. Add this other circumstance, that the Catalonians for above a century back have been discontented with their government, and are of a bold, free, and even mutinous spirit ; and that all Spain is more or less tainted with the contagion of the late French principles of what they

once called freedom, but have now thrown off the mask, and called by its proper name, Equality. Circumstances such as these, and not the family compact, bound the late King of Spain to France. He trembled for his crown. He was conscious that he needed protection, and he sought it from that power which he knew could and would force him to ask it. The present King, in the late desertion of the cause of all Kings, and giving Hispaniola to France, in defiance of the peace of Utrecht, which himself and most of the powers of Europe are bound by treaty to protect, has yielded in the same manner to necessity. *But the same necessity which has forced him to make peace with France, can and will force him to make war upon England, as it forced his father to do at the end of the two last wars; periods which, of all others, were the most improper for Spain to provoke England, because Spain was unprepared for a sea war, but England*

prepared, habituated to it, and in the full vigour of exertion.—The blow may be suspended till the King of Spain has got home his treasures, has prepared his fleets, or has received an order from a French *charge de affaires*, to rush into a war with England, without either. But the blow will come a third time, and as often as the situations of France and Spain shall continue to be what they are.

From this state of France, Holland, and Spain, the English ought to lay their account that the offensive power of those three countries will be indissolubly united against them, by sea and by land, until some great change shall happen in the state of Europe, which no man on earth can foresee.

Against that union, the capacity of offence suggests the mode of defence. The best mode of attack at most times is to disarm an enemy; but that mode must at this time be pursued as a system; for,

when even the existence of nations are at stake, the grasps of the minds of their ministers must be mighty. They must have the inventive and persevering genius of King William, the inventive and daring one of Lord Chatham, and the comprehensive genius of both; otherwise they and their country will perish together.

The first and best defence of England lies in the acquisition of the empire of the sea: but this is to be obtained only by three great and bold measures.

The first is, to withhold the French West Indies for ever from France, either by keeping them to ourselves, or dividing them with others.

The second is, to hold for ever the Cape of Good Hope, and the Dutch East Indies, which I presume in common justice to our Ministers, and to the East India Directors, are long ago ours.

And the last is, to seize and keep possession of the river Plate and the South Seas,

until Spain shall agree to throw the trade of her dominions in the new world, and the pass of Darien, open to England. Both of which will fall with ease to those, and be kept with ease by those who command the sea. The South Seas and the river Plate are in healthy climates; and if the original papers which I published concerning Darien deserve credit, the pass of Darien is healthy also. It has been said to be impossible that that pass can be wholesome, because it lies near the line. But it has been lately discovered, that the Prince of Wales Island, which is still nearer to the line, is wholesome. There are similar reasons for both: the air of the Prince of Wales Island finds its way from sea to sea, through a narrow arm of the sea between mountains: the air of the pass of Darien finds its way from sea to sea, through the openings of mountains; and in both cases the openings and boundings create a ventilation, which otherwise would not have been there.

I know that speculations of this magnitude and variety will be looked on as visionary. But let the following circumstances, and consequences from them, of the three objects, be attended to by men who think with clearness, and reason with fairness, and they will then judge whether the speculations be visions, or founded in the most absolute necessity, to preserve not the interest, not the honour of the British nations, but their very existence.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE FRENCH WEST
INDIES.

And first, with regard to the West Indies.
—The necessity of withholding them for ever from France, may appear from four consequences immediate and terrible, which would follow from France possessing even only a part of them; I mean St. Domingo; which the King of Spain has lately done all that he could do to make the sole property of France.

First consequence.—Before the French

confusions began, above a million of Frenchmen, and consequently four millions of French people, gained their bread from the luxury of the court, the church, the nobility, the revenue, those who, or whose ancestors, had amassed great fortunes in their families, and of foreigners who flocked into France for pleasure. Since the confusions began, that million has not felt the want of their usual supply, because they have found them in war, or the plunder of each other ; or, I had almost said, in death, which made supplies needless to be called for. But when the hour of peace comes, and the hour of plunder and death is over, and that million feels a cessation of their present temporary supplies, that will happen to France, which happened to Rome at the end of the civil wars of Sylla, Cæsar, and Augustus. Lest the soldiers, and others thrown loose of employment, should rise against the state, which is not able to feed them, the state will, as those

Roman conquerors did to their veterans in Italy, give them grants of land in St. Domingo; a country (or rather an empire it may be called) which is as large as half of France, is superior in the quality of productions to the English West Indies; is in part, and may in whole be filled with cattle, and other provisions; possesses timber sufficient to build, as is done at the Havannah, navies; and in the varied face of a country full of mountains, ravines, passes, and other natural strengths, will be covered with fortifications, which will make it more impregnable than the French part of Flanders, because in the West Indies, death and a lingering war, such as a war of sieges must always be, are synonymous terms.

Second consequence.—The late moves of the French in the West Indies prove, that they are agitated by the passions of Satan, as described by Milton. For they make their pleasure consist in doing mischief to others, without any benefit to

themselves. Without the immediate aid and protection of a fleet in the West Indies, where of all countries on earth it is most needed, they cannot be able to conquer their slaves; they will therefore continue that emancipation, and that use of arms in their hands which they cannot recall. Thus all the natural furies of black men, with all the tactic arts of war of white men, will be united in the mixture of vast bodies of black and white troops, either for defence or offence, and who will ravage our plantations, according as the trade winds, calms, the carelessness of Boards in England, or the indolence or cowardice of naval or military officers in the West Indies, shall present the occasions. And that these will offer themselves in future times is too probable from the experience of past times.

Third consequence.—In quarrels with European nations, or with America, that island will be a sure refuge, and a sure *place d'armes* to the enemies of England,

from which to prepare and make expeditions, and supply them with military stores and provisions, and in which to give safety to foreign privateers, or our own rebels, whether black or white. The mischiefs which we have suffered in the present war from the paltry neutral islands of Eustatia, St. Bartholemy, and St. Thomas, may show what we are to expect from the wings of a mighty and hostile dominion hovering over Jamaica.

Fourth consequence.—During a war with France in the West Indies, we are put to a vast waste of money, and of the most valuable lives in the nation, by being obliged to keep in them two fleets, for their protection ; a waste which would be saved if the French had no possessions there, because they would then have no station of safety for a fleet.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

With regard to the Cape of good Hope,

and the Dutch East Indies, if they are left in the hands of Holland, that is to say, in the hands of France; the dominions of England in India would be exposed to the intrigues, the caprices, the violence, and the perfidy of France: and then an empire, the source of manufacture, shipping, industry, wealth, power, and revenue, to Britain, which at present can be held almost by the hand of a child, will with difficulty be preserved by hosts of heroes.

But the Cape of Good Hope will connect England with India and with Ceylon; then the bastion to Hindostan; will connect the three English presidencies with each other; and combine them into one system by its central position and noble ports; by means of which the presidencies will give support to each other, and even act as one power. The other Dutch islands placed between the Indian and Pacific Ocean would connect England and Hindostan with the China trade, and with the empire of England on the South Seas,

; Ceylon

if England should obtain it. But all these, trade to India, connection of the Presidencies of India, possession even of those Presidencies, and trade to China or to the South Seas, will hang by a thread, if the French, under the name of the Dutch, should possess those stations which separate them all from each other. My idea would bind the whole to England. But the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the Dutch settlements in Hindostan, Batavia, and the Spice Islands, instruments in the hands of France, would tear the whole asunder.

But there is a separate advantage in making ourselves masters of the Dutch East Indies in the hands of France, and ~~taking~~ taking possession of them; to wit, that if neither had possessions in India, there would be no occasion in a war with France, for fleets to be stationed there; because the French having no ports there, would send no naval force there. This advantage in point of national economy

Sup

is a very serious one. For the report of the commissioners appointed by the House of Commons two years ago, to inquire into the abuses of office, states, that in one article of expence alone, viz. the article of victualling the fleet, the public, in the French war in India before last, was defrauded in half a million sterling, out of the million which the victualling of the fleet cost.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE THREE SPANISH
POSSESSIONS.

N. B. I have not printed any thing more on the topic of Spain, until its movements be better known than can be at present.

But if I go on with this pamphlet, I must be supplied with two things; the first is, an account of the respective losses of France and England, in numbers of ships of war and their guns, in the wars between England and France since the Restoration.

I have an account from Mr. Burchell's *Memoirs of the War of King William*; and Mr. Chalmers has given me from the *Annual Register* an account of the seven years war of the last King, and the present war. But I have no more, and know not where to find the materials. No pamphlet can have effect unless it be supported by facts.

Secondly, I want a comparative contrast between the present state of England and France, in ships of war, trade, manufactures, fisheries, husbandry, taxes, public debts, and the other great lines which form the strength of nations.

The two fittest persons in the nation to help me here, are Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Irvin. I am sorry to give them trouble, but really must beg to have their assistance and information, and then I could finish the pamphlet with expedition.

